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CONTENTS

The Beaconite Controversy - Anna Braithwaite Thomas 70
Letter from William Penn to Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, Abbess of the Protestant Convent of Herford, 1677, with an Introduction Amelia M. Gummere 82
Answer of the Princess Elizabeth, 1677 - - - 97
Pacific Coast Quakerism, The Part of London and Philadelphia Friends in Its Planting - - Rayner W. Kelsey 98
Anti-Slavery Friends - - - Charles F. Coffin 100
Anne Gargill's Visit to Portgual, 1655 - Mary G. Swift 103
Anne Gargill's Visit to Holland in 1657 Mary G. Swift 105
The Quakers in the American Colonies, a Review, Augustine Jones 107
Books of Interest to Friends Issued in 1911 - The Editor 110
Notes and Queries - - - - - - 117
A Friends' Meeting for Indians in State House — Marmaduke Stevenson — New York to Philadelphia in 1841 — Philadelphia to Baltimore, 1841 — Railway Notice — An Adjourned London Yearly Meeting — Norman Penney's Visit to America — Journal of Friends' Historical Society — Short Journal of George Fox
Annual Meeting, 1912 - - - Mary S. Allen 120

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THE BEACONITE CONTROVERSY.*

ANNA BRAITHWAITE THOMAS.

The Beaconite Controversy took its name from a small book entitled "A Beacon to the Society of Friends," published in First month, 1835, by Isaac Crewdson, a minister belonging to Manchester Meeting, England. To quote from Joseph John Gurney's description, "This publication consisted of a running commentary on various passages in the sermons of the late Elias Hicks, of North America, who had been disowned by Friends in that country; and, with proofs, drawn from Scripture, of this preacher's perversions and delusions are mixed up many painful innuendoes, trenching, in various degrees, on our well-known views of the spirituality of the Gospel of Christ. Indeed," says J. J. Gurney, "it is my deliberate judgment that the work, professing as it does to defend sound Christianity, has an undeniable tendency to undermine the precious doctrine of the immediate teaching, guidance, and government of the Holy Spirit."

Such was the Beacon itself in the eyes of one who sympathized fully with its author in his desire for pure evangelical teaching in the Society.

The Controversy began in 1831, when a Tract Association in Manchester was broken up in consequence of doctrinal differences amongst the Friends interested, and culminated in the winter of 1836-37 in the resignation of Isaac Crewdson and of 48 other members of Manchester Meeting. This was followed in other parts of England by the resignation of about 250 Friends, many of them prominent members of the Society, making 300 in all who were lost to Friends through this lamentable schism.†

Thus, roughly speaking, the Beacon Controversy was contemporary with the reign of William IV, i. e., 1830-1837, a period of such wonderful changes that it might truly be said that

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* Part of a paper read before the Haverford Round Table, Third month 15, 1909.

† See J. S. Rowntree. "The Friend," London, vol. 40, p. 797.

a new England was being born, not only politically and religiously but also in regard to material surroundings.

The old methods of travel which had lasted unchanged for a thousand years were now giving way to the great revolutionary steam, with all the seething mass of changes in manufactures that were to follow. In politics the battle of parliamentary reform was being fought out and the anti-slavery struggle was at its height, and in the religious world the same spirit of unrest and change was at work. Barriers were giving way and the thoughts of outside minds were touching the Society as they had not done since the days of George Fox.

The great separation of 1828 among Friends in America had not failed to have an important reflex action upon the Society in England, where the same sort of formal quietism had long prevailed and great stress had been laid on the discipline and upon the external peculiarities of dress and address.

Throughout the eighteenth century meetings were very often silent, but, in such ministry as there was, great emphasis was laid upon immediate inspiration; ministers frequently declaring that they had come into the meeting with *no* idea as to what they might have to deliver. The notion prevailed that intellectual activity was inimical to this inspiration, hence much of the ministry was absolutely, as it professed to be, devoid of intellectual or even of rational thought. It consisted largely in exhortations to dwell deep, to turn away from all that was of human wisdom, to seek unto that light within, which, if followed, would lead to peace with God; or in warnings against worldliness and denunciations of those who trusted in wealth and human learning.

With the opening of the nineteenth century a new era had begun. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded, and from the outset there were always one or two Friends upon its committee. Thus greater attention began to be directed to the Bible and more stress to be placed upon Scripture truth. Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Hannah Backhouse, Anna Braithwaite and others were gifted and eloquent ministers of this newer order whose clearer teaching was warmly welcomed and much appreciated by the young people who naturally craved something more interesting than the silent meetings or tedious generalities

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of the older preachers. At the same time, the philanthropic activities of the first third of the century were doing much to break down the barriers between Friends and other Christian people. Thus there were two very distinct schools of thought in the Society. John Barclay (father of the author of "The Inner Life," etc.), George and Ann Jones, Sarah Lynes Grubb and Thomas Shillitoe may be mentioned as exponents of the more mystical or introverted theology, whilst J. J. Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Hannah Backhouse and Anna Braithwaite, with others less widely known, upheld the more evangelical standard. Some prominent ministers, such as John and Joseph Pease, Samuel Tuke and Stephen Grellet (then on a religious visit to Europe) appear to have occupied a middle position, being claimed sometimes by one and sometimes by the other party.

The differences, though real, might have continued to exist side by side with good results to all concerned but for the actions of a group of very active and rather ultra individuals who came into prominence about this time.

Chief among these may be mentioned Isaac Crewdson himself, the author of the Beacon. He had been born at Kendal in 1780; hence at the time of the "Controversy" he was already well advanced in middle life. He was then residing at Ardwick Green, a suburb of Manchester, and was an acknowledged minister in the Society. He had been brought up in all the strictness of external Quakerism, and had early imbibed a strong attachment to its usages, but it was not until towards middle life that evangelical truth dawned upon his mind. "I remember," says J. J. Gurney in his autobiography, "telling my friend, Isaac Crewdson, nearly three years before the publication of the Beacon, that he and I had started in our race from opposite points, had met, and crossed on the road."* Isaac Crewdson was greatly beloved in his own meeting, and was moreover closely connected by ties of birth and marriage with an unusually large number of prominent Quaker families, at Kendal, Birmingham, Tottenham, Plymouth, etc. Associated with him in the evangelical movement at Manchester was his brother-in-law, William Boulton, an elder,

* Life of J. J. Gurney, vol. 2, p. 15.

with some gift in the ministry, who as early as 1833 had opened his house for "Bible-studying" meetings. These gatherings were at first very small, sometimes attended by only five or six persons, but they gave rise to great division of feeling and came to be the ground of an exception in the Answer to the Query on Love and Unity as sent up to the Yearly Meeting from Lancashire Quarterly Meeting.

Another prominent Beaconite was John Wilkinson, a minister of Chesham, Bucks. He appears to have had a somewhat lengthy gift and to have thought nothing of preaching for an hour or more at a time. In fact the leaders on both sides had a good deal of the gift of continuance, and meetings held far longer than they do now-a-days, each party in turn lamenting the "tediousness" of the others in rather an amusing way. John Wilkinson preached doctrinal sermons of a somewhat Calvinistic type, but he was a man of a peculiarly sensitive spirit, very gentle and affectionate. Through his wife, Esther Wilson, of Kendal, John Wilkinson was brought into close touch with the various Kendal Quaker clans and exercised a very strong influence especially upon the young people. Esther Wilkinson was quite a character; she was an ardent evangelical with an intense dislike for Quaker mysticism.

Still another prominent actor in the Beacon movement was Luke Howard, a man of decided and somewhat erratic opinions which he did not hesitate to put forward at all times, without much consideration for the feelings of his opponents. There were other public supporters of the Beacon, but the only one whom I shall name is Elisha Bates, a minister from Ohio Yearly Meeting, who visited England with a certificate in 1833-34. Hodgson, in his "History of the Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century," says that he had been "an eloquent preacher and very serviceable while he abode in humility and the true fear of the Lord." He certainly was greatly beloved and admired during his first visit to England and exercised an important influence in favor of the new doctrines. But in 1834 there was already so much uneasiness felt with some of his teaching that the select meeting withheld a returning minute. Next year, however, John Hodgkin called the attention of the Yearly Meeting to this omis-

sion, and the expression of disapprobation was so strong that the Select Yearly Meeting was directed to reconsider its judgment. This was done, and, under the popular pressure, the meeting actually retracted its former action and sent a clear returning minute to America. Elisha Bates came again unexpectedly and without a minute in the spring of 1836, "professedly on the ground of outward business." (Hodgson.) At this time he devoted himself to efforts to help forward the Beacon party. With this object, he commenced the publication in England of his "Miscellaneous Repository,"* which became a vehicle for attacks on the ancient landmarks. (Hodgson.) It went through several numbers. Finally, in the autumn of 1836 he received water baptism at the hands of John Pye Smith, a London minister, probably the first instance in which one occupying at the time the station of a recorded minister in the Society has been baptized. He afterwards published several pamphlets in support of his position, and one in which he endeavored to destroy the religious standing of the early Friends. On his return to America he did not find much acceptance from his Friends at home for his new opinions, and shortly afterwards he joined the Methodists.

The chief points in the controversy were connected with the doctrine of Justification by Faith, or, viewed from another standpoint, with the doctrine of the Inner Light. The Beaconite leaders had, so far as their own experience went, and some of them in comparatively advanced life, rediscovered the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Hence they were inclined to emphasize that exclusively and to undervalue, or it would be more correct to say, entirely to reject, the favorite doctrine of Quakerism regarding the work of Christ in the heart. They began to point out what seemed to them the defects in Quakerism and to stigmatize the writings of the early Friends as "unsound," "unscriptural," even "blasphemous." Hard words were used by both parties, women Friends such as Sarah Lynes Grubb, Ann Jones and Abigail

* The "Miscellaneous Repository" was begun at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1828, and continued semi-monthly until 1832. When in England Elisha Bates issued the last part of volume 5, (numbers 23 to 28) at Kendal. It was permanently suspended Ninth month 1, 1836. The earlier volumes are largely taken up with the "Hicksite" controversy.—Ed.

Dockray, of Manchester, would feel a concern to visit the men's meeting, and would then, making the most solemn claim to be immediately inspired at the time, deliver impassioned denunciations of "Babel builders who sought in their own strength and wisdom to build up a structure that would reach to heaven," etc., etc., etc.

Manchester Meeting was the principal storm-center of the controversy, for it contained very active representatives of both sides, and it was here that the "Bible-studying meetings" so strongly objected to by the more conservative members had been carried on at the house of one of the elders. It was here also that Isaac Crewdson exercised his very influential ministry. The meeting numbered about 400, and at least 100 of the active members sympathized with the new doctrines.

In the winter of 1834-35 Isaac Crewdson published the Beacon, and by Third month, 1835, it had reached its second edition. The copy in my possession was presented to my father by the author, and is a thin cloth-bound 8vo book, of about 150 pages. It was ostensibly published to counteract the errors of "Hicksism," and consists of extracts from the sermons of Elias Hicks, together with passages of Scripture arranged to correct the errors. There are also some remarks by the author, but the Scripture passages form by far the largest part of the little volume. They are very carefully selected, and of course no fault can be found with them; in fact, being printed in full under the various headings, they exhibit in a very striking manner the Scripture teaching; but Isaac Crewdson, in his horror at "Hicksite" doctrine, and his disgust at recognizing in it certain favorite expressions of the introspective school, had violently attacked these without any explanation of the fact that Elias Hicks had used them in an entirely different sense. "The Inner Light" was one of these expressions. To Elias Hicks it meant the natural light of human reason; to the English Friends who made use of it, it signified the enlightening power of the Holy Spirit on the heart of man, and Isaac Crewdson afterwards admitted that he recognized the complete difference between the two uses of the term.*

* See "Complete Correspondence," etc.

The book created an immense sensation, not only in the Society, but amongst other Christian people, for, contrary to the usual custom of Friends, Isaac Crewdson had had it advertised very widely, so that it was reviewed in a number of religious papers, most of which took occasion to comment on the dangers to which the holding of such doctrines as those set forth in the extracts from Elias Hicks's sermons exposed the Society, together with their great satisfaction that a body so excellent in many ways should now have recognized its errors and be about to reform them. All this was of course very trying to many Friends, and it was felt that whatever might have been the original motive of the author, he had at any rate succeeded in casting a great deal of obloquy on the Society. The main practical difficulty with the Beacon was that such great emphasis was laid on the outward work of Christ and upon the written revelation of God's will as contained in the Scriptures, as to disparage the inward work of the Holy Spirit upon the heart. The Beaconites contended that this was not the case and claimed that they fully believed in the Holy Spirit in all His offices, yet in noting their later history, we find that a considerable number of them joined the Plymouth Brethren after leaving Friends, and did become extremely external in their notions. Many went so far as to confine the direct work of God upon the heart to the revelation contained in the Bible. The custom of calling the Bible "The Word" or "the Word of God" was also very common amongst them. Following out the same general line of thought most of the prominent Beaconite leaders were "water-baptized" within a short time. I do not know that there had been any teaching in reference to water baptism previous to the appointment of the Yearly Meeting's committee in 1835, but it is evident from their correspondence that this tendency already existed and was known to members of the committee.

The Beacon, as stated above, was published in the winter of 1834-35, and "was quickly followed," says Hodgson, "by a shower of pamphlets in the same direction, many of which were very crude and frothy, but all tending to raise a commotion and kindle unhallowed fire." (Hodgson, "History," etc., Vol. I, p. 247.) There were also a number of attempts to answer or refute the doctrines set forth in the Beacon, but none of them was offi-

cially endorsed by Friends. Amongst them may be mentioned Dr. Thomas Hancock's "Defence of the Doctrine of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light"; a fiery and somewhat bitter and ill-judged attack on the Beacon, by a young man named Henry Martin, called "Truth Vindicated," and "A Lamp for the Beacon," by John Harrison, of Manchester, who showed by parallel passages from the writings of the early opponents of Quakerism that the Beaconite doctrines had been long ago refuted by George Fox and other ancient Quaker worthies. Most of these pamphlets opened up fresh fields for controversy, and the strife was waxing more and more bitter. In the meantime, and as early as 1834 the attention of the Yearly Meeting had been officially called to the contest by an exception in the answer to the Query on Love and Unity as sent up from Lancashire Quarterly Meeting. This exception, as before mentioned, had arisen from a difference of view in reference to the "Bible-studying Meetings" in Manchester Meeting. In 1835, when the contest over the Beacon was at its hottest, the exception to the Query again appeared, and after a long and heated discussion in the Yearly Meeting, a committee of thirteen was appointed to endeavor to assist Manchester Meeting in restoring unity. The committee included Samuel Tuke, then clerk of the Yearly Meeting; Josiah Forster, William Forster, William Allen, Dr. Edward Ash and, above all, Joseph John Gurney. It was a strong one from the prominence and blameless Christian character of the men composing it, but weak in two aspects; first because there existed considerable divergence of opinion amongst them, and secondly because Dr. Ash and Joseph John Gurney had already published numerous essays on the subjects under discussion, and Joseph John Gurney at any rate was to some extent committed in the same direction as those whose errors he was supposed to be striving to correct.* The committee paid repeated visits to Manchester and labored hard, giving much time and prayerful thought to the attempt to heal the breach. They presented to Isaac Crewdson a series of objections to the Beacon, to which he replied seriatim, in most cases explaining that he had been misunderstood and had

* NOTE.—J. J. Gurney himself objected to his own appointment, but was overruled.—EDITOR.

had no intention of disregarding or attacking the beliefs referred to. Though professedly greatly relieved by these explanations, the committee still felt uneasy and advised "their Friend Isaac Crewdson to refrain from exercising his ministry." They also "felt bound to state their continued dissatisfaction with the manifest tendency of the Beacon, and thought it their duty under all the circumstances of the case, affectionately but earnestly to recommend him to suppress its further circulation."

Isaac Crewdson did for a few months refrain from preaching, but he absolutely, and I think very naturally, refused to suppress the Beacon, contending that as the committee had expressed themselves as relieved by his explanations in regard to it, they had practically withdrawn their charges of doctrinal unsoundness.*

Matters were in this unsatisfactory state when the lengthening days and the bright sunshine of May returned, bringing with them the Yearly Meeting of 1836. It was the last time that London Yearly Meeting met as an undivided body, and it was also in other ways a very important gathering. Once more the Quaker suburbs of Tottenham and Winchmore Hill and Stoke Newington were gay with flowering lilacs and laburnum, and humming with all the subdued hilarity of the great Quaker festival; and when the Meetings began the "Yard" and passages at Devonshire House (then just freshly remodeled and fitted up) overflowed with the unusually large numbers who were in attendance. The Men's Meeting in particular must have been a noteworthy sight when we remember that of the eight hundred to a thousand men who composed it nearly all would be clad in the distinctive Quaker garb, even those who were increasingly feeling their want of

* From a tract published two years later by Isaac Crewdson, called "The Trumpet Blown," we find that there were at least three important points on which he was at variance with the practices of Friends. He says (p. 39), "I did intend to have made some further observations, to show that the errors of the Society, with regard to the preaching of the Gospel, prayer, and The Ordinances of Baptism and the Supper, have all sprung out of this unscriptural doctrine" (namely, the Inner Light.) William Boulton had also been recommended by the Committee to refrain from exercising his ministry, and there was much hard feeling among the sympathizers of both Friends on account of the attempt, as they considered it, to silence the sound preaching of the Gospel.

unity with the body rarely discarding the garb, so that to the casual observer there was no appearance of disunity.

This was the Yearly Meeting at which Joseph John Gurney uttered his famous saying about the middle men: "On the subject which particularly agitated the Society at the present time, he did not hesitate to declare that he was a middle man. (The Lord forbid that he should be any other.) And this not from indecision (as some asserted), but from a clear conviction that there was great danger, while they were avoiding Scylla, of falling into Charybdis. He would affectionately exhort his dear friends to take this middle course, for he believed it to be the right one; to choose the middle of the river Jordan, for that was the deepest. He would not compromise one jot of true Christianity, nor yet of sound Quakerism, for he asserted them to be [identical.] The distinguishing trust of the Society had always been the free and independent influence of the Holy Spirit; and to this he would always hold. The Society had compromised nothing that could be found in Holy Scripture, and the expression, Christianity without Compromise, conveyed his notion of what Quakerism was. In conclusion, he repeated that he was confident the Society had always been quite sound in its estimation of Holy Scripture; but he did hope, before this Yearly Meeting was over, that for the relief of the minds of some Friends, it would again send forth a very decided and explicit statement on this important subject."

J. J. Gurney's address had been called out by a minute from Westmoreland Quarterly Meeting asking the Yearly Meeting to define clearly what are "in its estimation, the authority, place and office of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice."

The document finally adopted in response to this request stated that they "had always freely acknowledged that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the inspiration of God, and that, therefore, their authority is the authority of God Himself, that they are the only divinely authorized record of all the doctrines which we are required to believe, and of all the moral principles which are to regulate our conduct; that from them there is no appeal to any authority whatsoever, that whatsoever is not contained in them ought not to be required of any one to be believed as an article of faith; and that whatsoever any do under the pretence even of the immediate influences of the Holy

Spirit that is contrary to the Scriptures, should be accounted a mere delusion; and that they should be diligently used."

Kendal Meeting, which had sent up this request, was probably, next to Manchester, the one in which the new views had obtained the greatest hold. At this time it had about three hundred members, a large proportion of whom belonged to one great family connection. Wilsons, Whitwells, Bensons, Crewdsons and Braithwaites had married and intermarried until it would puzzle any but a professional genealogist to unravel the relationships of the various families.

As before noted, most of them were closely related to the author of the Beacon, to John Wilkinson and to other Beaconite leaders; Anna Braithwaite's evangelical ministry had also doubtless had a powerful influence on the meeting. She and her husband had passed through the "Hicksite" troubles in America and had been deeply impressed with the danger of the "Hicksite" doctrines. They had been Elisha Bates's travelling companions on his first visit to England and had been closely bound to him by ties of friendship and sympathy. From all these causes it is not surprising that the intelligent earnest young people of this meeting were keenly interested in "the controversy" and were watching its progress with deepest sympathy. The proposition to the Yearly Meeting appears to have been a final effort to save the situation in Kendal for Quakerism.

At first it seemed as though the desired result had been attained, but eventually at least a hundred of their brightest and best members left the Society and joined, some the Church of England, and some the Plymouth Brethren, and for a generation afterwards the stripped and saddened feeling remained, whilst those who had passed through the struggle could scarcely be persuaded to recur to it even in private conversation, so painful were the recollections awakened. And yet amongst all these Kendal people of both parties earnest religious feelings prevailed. Each had acted from conscientious motives, and I do not think there had been much, if any, of what is ordinarily spoken of as strife and bitterness.

To return to Manchester: The Visiting Committee had been continued by the Yearly Meeting and was still laboring with the same earnestness, and the same total want of success as before, to heal the ever-widening breach.

An attempt to revise the membership of the Select Meeting was strongly opposed. It was carried by the exertions of the committee, and evidently precipitated the climax which came in the late autumn of 1836, when Isaac Crewdson, William Boulton, with both their wives, who previously had been in the position of elders, and forty-six other Friends resigned their membership in the Society.

The acceptance of these resignations closed the labors of the Yearly Meeting's committee in Manchester. The separated Friends kept up an organization, calling themselves "Evangelical Friends," the "Scripture-studying Meetings," attended in 1835-36, that is before the actual separation, by about one hundred persons* continuing to be their meetings for worship. About two hundred and fifty others who held the same views also left the Society in Bristol, Birmingham, Kendal, Tottenham, etc., and in 1837 they held a meeting in London, issuing an address after the manner of a Yearly Meeting epistle. Before long, however, most of them submitted to the rite of water baptism and joined the Episcopal Church or the Plymouth Brethren.

In reviewing the history of this deplorable controversy it seems to me that both parties were wrong in opposing the favorite doctrines of the other side. The mistakes made by London Yearly Meeting arose from an unwillingness to admit any errors whatever in the writings of the early Friends and also from want of clearness and thoroughness in teaching the Bible. Their theoretical position on the Bible, on its inspiration, on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and on immediate revelation was undoubtedly right and the Evangelical Friends were wrong in rejecting it. In one sense we can scarcely lay too much stress upon the outward work of Christ for our redemption and yet we should lay an equal stress upon the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart, without which the other blessed revelation remains unfruitful and ineffective. We must believe in and appreciate to the full the record of our Lord's life on earth, of His sufferings and death for us, but no less must we believe that the revelation has not ceased, that He is working still and will still reveal Himself to the seeking trusting soul.

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* Letter of Samuel Tuke.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM PENN TO ELIZABETH, PRINCESS PALATINE, ABBESS OF THE PROTESTANT CONVENT OF HEREFORD, 1677, WITH AN INTRODUCTION.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

The following letter is one of a collection of valuable papers recently given to Haverford College by the daughters of Gulielma M. Howland. They are to be known as the Gulielma M. Howland Collection. This letter is an autograph copy, in the earlier style of William Penn's handwriting, and may be the original from which the copy was made for the Princess. It has come down through the Logan family. Thus far, no trace of its publication has been found, and as the reply of the Princess has been given in Janney's Life of Penn, it has been thought well to print it in the BULLETIN at this time, particularly as so much interest is being taken in the writings of William Penn for the forthcoming complete edition.

The companions of Penn upon this journey to Holland and Germany were George Fox and his stepdaughter, Isabel Yeamans, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and his wife, George Watts, John Furley and William Tallcoat, with two servants. There is lack of agreement in the several accounts of this journey, and its purpose. Penn himself is silent as to his wish to effect any union between the Quakers and the Labadists. Such is said to have been his object by Elizabeth Godfrey in her delightful book, "A Sister of Prince Rupert."* Neither does Janney mention this in his "Life of Penn."† The fact is that on his first religious visit to the continent six years before, Penn had met de Labadie and rebuked him for his errors.‡ E. Godfrey refers, not to the Journal, but to other narratives.§ Penn does not imply that he sent the three

* A Sister of Prince Rupert, etc. By Elizabeth Godfrey. London, 1909, p. 376.

† Life of Wiliam Penn, Samuel M. Janney, 2nd edition, Philadelphia, 1852, pp. 135-137.

‡ William Penn's Journal of his Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677. 4th edition, by John Barclay. London, 1835, p. 20.

§ Mme. Blaze de Bury. "Memoirs of the Princess of Bohemia." Foucher de Careil. "L'Influence de Cartesianisme sur les Femmes."

Quaker ladies ahead under the escort of Robert Barclay, to prepare the Princess for his coming, since he had corresponded with her for six years. About a year before, i.e., in 1676, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furley had visited the Princess, and soon after, the Dutch woman Friend, Gertrude Diericks, had accompanied Elizabeth Hendricks, perhaps as interpreter. The misapprehension that a party was sent on to prepare the way probably arose from the fact that a remarkable letter from George Fox was delivered to the Princess by the hands of Isabel Yeamans and Elizabeth Keith* just before William Penn came to Herford, and probably while he was absent in Germany. It does not appear that Fox was at Herford at all. This is the only occasion on which Penn kept an account of his travels, and it was done, he explains, " for his own satisfaction and that of some relatives and particular friends." The author consented to its publication many years after, when a copy was found among the papers of the deceased Countess of Conway. The little party left England in July, 1677, and arrived in Rotterdam in time to hold two meetings on the first day of the week at the house of Benjamin Furley, a learned Englishman who had married a Dutch wife and settled at that place. After brief visits at Leyden, Harlem and Amsterdam, Penn and Barclay proceeded to Herford to visit the Princess Palatine Elizabeth, Abbess of the Protestant nunnery of that name.

The Princess was daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England; they formerly

* Of the women named Elizabeth Keith, was the wife of George Keith Since the Archives of New Jersey named Keith's wife in 1682 as Anne, he was probably twice married. Isabel Yeamans was the very interesting wife of William Yeamans, and daughter of Judge Fell and Margaret, afterward wife of George Fox. She was married first in 1664, and on William Yeamans' death, in 1687, she married Abraham Morrice (Norman Penney. Journal of George Fox I, p. 492.) The Dutch historian Croese (History of the Quakers, 1696, ii. 237) says that "The Princess was especially pleased with Isabel's Discourse, who indeed had a curious voice and a freer way of delivering herself." Gertrude Diericks was the hostess of Penn and others in her home at Amsterdam. William Caton married Annekin Diericks in 1662, and his death occurred in 1665. Gertrude Diericks came to live in England later, and married Stephen Crisp.

held Court at Heidelberg. She was but an infant when her father was elected King of Bohemia, and removed to Prague. He became head of the Protestant League (the "Evangelical Union"), and only twelve months later came his flight to Holland, following his defeat by Ferdinand II of Germany and the Duke of Bavaria. Among the friendly Dutch, under the immediate protection of the Prince of Orange, the little Elizabeth grew up. Her distinguished literary attainments were only a degree less than her devotion to the promulgation of the Protestant religion, a bent of mind which the family trials tended to increase. At sixteen she rejected the hand of the King of Poland because of his Roman Catholicism, and at twenty-three she became an ardent disciple of Descartes, then residing in Holland. She went to Leyden to be instructed by him, and so proficient was she in metaphysical and philosophical studies, that he called her "the miracle of Western Europe."

The Treaty of Westphalia restored to her brother Charles Louis a part of his father's dominions, and incorporated the Abbey at Herwerden, or Herford, in Westphalia, in the Electorate of Brandenburg, whose ruler was their cousin. The Elector in 1667 placed his cousin Elizabeth at the head of the Abbey in succession to their aunt, Elizabeth Louise, and two years later confirmed the ancient rights of the Abbey to two votes in the Reichstag, and its recognition as third of the four female ecclesiastical principalities in the empire. In all legal acts and documents the title of the Abbess became "Princess and Prelatess of the Holy Roman Empire." The ancient Abbey's history reached back even then to very early times; it had escaped suppression because of its important political rights, and because it had accepted the Reformation unopposed, surviving the vicissitudes of transition. Probably the title of the Abbess was on William Penn's mind when he wrote his letter. The Princess had jurisdiction over a large territory and more than seven thousand inhabitants, and her charity and graciousness in the capacity of ruler is referred to by Penn in his description of her in "No Cross, No Crown."*

* One cannot help regretting that Elizabeth did not make of her Abbey a great institution for the advancement of learning, among women especially. The opportunity was lost, for the Abbey became a refuge for religious fanatics and was torn down soon after 1815.

On William Penn's arrival, his request to be allowed to wait upon Elizabeth was answered with the announcement that he and his friends would be received "next morning, about the seventh hour," at which early season the Princess greeted them, says Penn, "with a more than ordinary expression of kindness." The Countess of Horne, then in the position of Canoness of the Chapter, was her companion throughout the interview, which partook of the character of a religious meeting. At two in the afternoon a large meeting followed "which did not break up until the seventh hour," says the Journal, "when the Lord in an eminent manner began to appear." Next morning a public meeting was held; at twelve they withdrew to their inn, but shortly after returned, and the afternoon was spent in the fulfillment of Penn's promise in an early letter to the Princess to relate the circumstances of his convincement and later experiences. The thrilling tale was not half finished when supper was announced, and they yielded to the solicitations of the Princess to remain as her guests. The narrative was resumed after the meal, and was listened to by Penn's distinguished audience until ten at night.

Next day, the Sabbath, meeting was held at the inn for the public, and again at the Abbey at two in the afternoon, when some of the townsfolk joined the family of the Princess. At the close of this meeting the Princess coming forward, took William Penn's hand and endeavored to express her sense of the presence of God among them, but she broke down, and sobbing aloud said, "I cannot speak to you; my heart is too full." She pressed them to return on their way home from Germany, and they took their leave of her and the Countess, "praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world."

On the return journey, William Penn visited first the three daughters of a gentleman of noble birth named Somerdyke, of the Hague, who were then living at Wieverd. They had been led by the preaching of Jean de Labadie to withdraw from the world for a life of retirement and self-denial. De Labadie was a French Jesuit who had been converted to Protestantism, and carrying his views further than the professors of the Reformed religion at Geneva, made trouble for clergy and magistrates alike. The Princess Elizabeth granted him protection, together with his numerous

following, but she became persuaded that they were largely in error, and wanting her approval of their doctrines, they withdraw from her territory. It was a portion of these people who came to America and founded "Bohemia Manor" in Maryland. William Penn had visited the leader in 1671, and had discovered his lack of stability and depth, and had probably warned the Princess; it is to this man and her abjuration of his doctrines that Penn refers in his letter to her. The Somerdyke sisters appear to have become the protectors of de Labadie's followers after his decease, and they were growing more in sympathy with the Quakers under the guidance of the Somerdykes and of Anna Maria Schurmann, a learned lady who was famous for her studies in philosophy, but was still more famous for her preaching of a mystical religion.

William Penn's second visit at this time was made from Wiewerd. He appears equally at home in German, Dutch and French, using the latter in his conversation with Count Donau, then visiting the Princess. The Friends held several impressive meetings, and at their departure, Penn exhorted the people earnestly, and kneeling in prayer, "besought the Lord's presence with them, recommending them to his protection." The journey to Wesel, their next halting place, at a distance of two hundred miles was made "without rest in a wagon crowded with passengers and covered with only a ragged sheet." For three days and nights continuously they were obliged to listen to their profane and ribald companions whom they rebuked and entreated to reform. During these days the burden for the salvation of the Princess and her family lay heavily on Penn's heart, and the letter which follows was written immediately upon his arrival at Wesel. It will speak for itself.

My dearly Respected ffriend

Great & notable is ye day of ye Lord wch is now dawning upon ye inhabitants of ye Earth a day of sore tryal & deep distress shall it be. For all ye hidden things of darkness shall be brought to light; & all flesh shall be judged before ye Lord. A day of winnowing & of sifting; no evil shall escape him. A day of reckoning & decision; yea, a day in which God shall humble all flesh & teach this pagan-christian world, righteousness in ye midst of

ye paths of his firey Judg^{mts}. Ah·blessed are they, that in their hearts & souls are awakened to this day by ye light of ye Lord; & that sleep not in this daytime; neither slumber away their pretious visitation in ye Cares, pleasures, Customes & entertainments of this degenerate & Apostate world; but watch & pray, that they enter not into temptation.

O Dear Princess, this is thy day; ye Lord God allmighty, y^{t} called out Abraham from ye Land of Idolatry, in which he lived, hath visited thy court, & hath called thee by his eternal word & power out of ye nature, spirit, life, & inventions of ye world. Yea, & I testify thou hast given him Audience in thy heart; & thou hast been sensibly struck with his presence, & livingly been affected with his appearance: & imortality hath taken hold of thee, & heavenly desires hath he kindled in thy soul after him: And I am satisfyed, ye Spirit is willing, though ye flesh be weak.

Now give up, o give up thy all, that thou mayst inherit eternal life: follow him: for he is worthy forever. Consult not away thy convictions; stifle not thy tender breathings by letting in, & entertaining ye politique Spirit of this world, ye prudence & discretion of man, that never did god's will, nor never can; for it hath no part in ye work of god. 'Tis ye babe, ye child, ye suckling, that w^{ch} is born of god, that can leave all for him; yt cleaveth to him, & only cryeth after him; & that confideth in him alone; that never disputeth, but always believeth & obeyeth. O this is ye only begotten of god, or that which god only by his immortal word & incorruptable seed begetteth in them, that receive his appearance. This lyeth in ye bosom of ye ffather, and sucheth of ye breasts of his consolation, even ye sincere milk of his living ingrafted word in the heart. The secrets of ye Lord are with him, & his light shineth upon his tabernacle: To this it is ye ffather's good pleasure, to give an everlasting kingdom. Therefore with all joy is he a poor pilgrim, & solitary traveller & very stranger in this world to ye nature, works, & fashions of it; voyaging through this vale of tears to ye eternal citty of god his ffather, doing his will in a daily cross to his own, and that in all things: that his heavenly ffather may be glorifyed, & that he may be glorifyed with his ffather forever.

Ah this noble life is springing; this royal plant is rising:

neither hell, death, nor ye grave shall be able to suppress it any longer. For ye time, ye times, & half a time is expired; & ye Judg^{mt} of Babilon is begun: and ye Lord god is removing ye Abomination, that hath stood in ye holy place by his holy power. Yea, ye false prophet, beast, & dragon are all seen & comprehended, & sentence is going out ag^{t} them from ye god of all ye familys of ye earth: Wo to them, that take part with them; & will not leave them for ye Lord.

Come out from amongst them saith ye Lord god allmighty; be ye separated. Touch not with that adulterated spirit, with w^{ch} ye nations have been defiled, & bewitched from ye pure obedience of that faith in god, w^{ch} purifyeth ye hearts, & leadeth out of ye world, & overcometh it.

O Dear ffriend, gods candle is lighted in thee; sweap thy house, & seek ye Kingdom, & thou shalt find it. For ye Kingdom of god is within: yea, in thee is his holy day dawned. Therefore o search, o trye, & watch: Consider ye end of ye ffatherly visitation to thee, both where it has found thee, & for w^{t} end. Is it not to conform thee to Jesus, ye Lord, ye Captain, & ye holy leader of ye bodys, souls & spirits of all true christians. Come to his pure & righteous judg^{mt}, Dear Princess; O come, & let ye prince of this world be judged in thee; ye false power, righteousnes, church, Authority, Inventions & buildings, which stand not in gods covenant, in his wisdom, w^{ch} is Christ Jesus. O is it ye earnest supplication of thy spirit to feel him, see him, love him, & possess him; & wouldst thou inherit that peace, & joy that he giveth them; Castaway all that is not of him. Love his likenes; embrace his holy example; be faithful to ye manifestations of his light, & that daily; & thou wilt be redeem'd out of that, to w^{ch} god revealeth his judg^{mts} ag^{t} ye world. For I must testify to thee, & y^{t} in god's fear & counsil, thou canst never see, know & taste that, which thou desirest after till thou hast deserted & relinquisht, w^{t} grieveth him. This is gods way.

Therefore dally not; but let it all go for ye sake of ye Joy and glory that is set before thee. O that thou hadst but once broke through ye Impediments I see before thee! & truly, faithfulnes quickly doth it.

Bear with me my Dear ffriend; for my soul is deeply affected

with thy condition. I love thee, I honour thee; but I must be plain with thee. I confess I have been rejoyced in ye visits I have made thee, yea, abundantly comforted from ye Lord: for his power hath been with us, & y^e^ hearts have been sensible of it; & that is our great reward: Because it's our meat & drink to do his will that sent us. And I must say y^t^ I left you all both times with dear love & great pleasure, & ye blessings of ye allmighty upon thee & thy house. Yet before I had been 3 hours in y^e^ waggon, that weight, burden, & exercise fell upon me, w^ch^ I remember not that I ever felt since I knew ye Lord. My spirits sad, my poor soul exceeding heavy: all comfort seemed to leave me, & joy to fly from me. I was as man drunk with sorrows, & I did even sweat with pains. My brethren took notice of a great weight upon me; but I kept my troubles to myself; & hid my travails in my own bosom.

This remain'd many hours upon me: I cryed: O Lord, w^t^ have I done? w^t^ have I left undone? why is this heaviness befallen me? o my god, stay my soul in thy word; & show me ye end of this bitter cup: that if thou hast any work for me to do, thou wouldst be pleased to shew it me: & be but with me, & I will go with chearfulness, let w^t^ will come of me.

Then ye Lord open'd his will in this exercise unto me, & I clearly saw, ye cause & end of y^t^, great weight, y^t^ lay upon my soul, was, that nothing might be lost that I left behind me; & that you might never go back, nor ye enemy by his subtile temptations shipwreck any of y^t^ love & faith, y^t^ god's divine word had quickened in your hearts. I beheld Satan as lightning descending in divers shapes & appearances; sometimes as religious, sometimes prudent, to insinuate, captivate & deceive you; who is that Spiritual Herod, that would murder that, which is born of god; that dragon, who would devour it; yea, ye sense of his designs & workings ag^t^ that life, that god hath begotten in you; & ye holy fear y^t^ seized my soul, lest he should be permitted to prevail, & any of you loose that tender love & sense, w^ch^ we left you in, cast me into such an Agony, that this know, o Princess, if ever my mother was in pain for me, then was my soul in deep distress for you. O ye beating of my heart, & wrestlings of my bowels! & ye earnest & strong crys of my life to god through him, that sweat drops of

blood for me, that all ye devices of ye evil one might be discovered, & all his darts quenched by ye true light of Jesus in all y^{r} consciences (ye holy blessed armour of ye saints of old.) Then did y^{e} Lord distinctly show me y^{r} states & conditions how it stood with you, & how & where he would assault you; w^{ch} increased my holy care, concerns & Travail for you. I wished in my soul, o that I had but enjoyed one day more with you! but gods time is not our time, & to his providence I submit; whose I am in the service of an everlasting gospel.

By this time we were got well to Wesel, & my soul was somew^{t} dased, yet it lay upon me to write to thee, & declare, w^{t} the Lord had give me to understand of thy present condition; & w^{t} counsel he had give me in charge for thee, as thy case stood separate, & distinct from ye rest, with respect to thy worldly circumstances: w^{ch} with unfeigned respect, holy love, & Christian faithfulness I here present unto thee: intreating thee, that it would please thee to read it & weigh it in ye tender, lowly & sensible frame of spirit, in w^{ch} I left thee.

Consider with X^{ts} light, & lay to heart, O princess, as thou wouldst give an Accompt with joy to god at ye great day of his terrible tribunal, who will not be mocked; but judge all ye people according to ye deeds done in ye body. If thy present publique station & capacity in ye world be altogether in ye way of god, & to be found & justifyed in & by ye light & ye truth of Christ. Hath it gods institution, or X^{ts} ordination? For all true & just power cometh from god & X^{t}, to whom all power in heaven & earth is given; I speak now to those things, about which we discourst ye evening we left thee. For seriously weigh, who was ye Author of ye Invention of Abbess; whose child it is; whom it resembleth; whose mark it beareth, & ye end of it? at best it is a complex of civil & ecclesiastical power not to be found in Scripture, nor pure tradition; ye offspring of a dark Apostasy. 'Tis true, ye protestants have rendered it more civil then it was; yet still it standeth on ye old foot too much, & is perplext with a religious power; & that more monstrous, then in ye days of popory. For then it signified only a feminine overseer of priests & people of one religion, a sort of spiritual pastoress, yet endowed with temporal privileges & dignity: but now a pastoress or over-

seer of divers, yea opposite, & contrary religions. And which is yet most of all strang, ye Abbess herself hath no opinion of ye religious part of her own institution: She alloweth it to be popish; & Anti-christian; a limb of ye beast; & declareth, she believeth none of those priests to be truly sent, deputed or spirited by X^t^ Jesus, ye great prophet & high priest of Christians; neither can she have intimate Communion with them.

O Dear Princess, Consider, how canst thou then chuse, appoint, or place such priests or ministers, as thou canst not hear, or have fellowship with; especially, when thou knowest in thy Conscience, that ye poor people at ye same time receive them as Gospel ministers, & ye Apostles successors; *now* it is a crime in them greatly punishable, to say ye contrary. o how canst thou employ a power, thou condemnest y^e^ very institution of; or appoint, or consent, that ye blind should lead ye blind? Remember, w^t^ is not of faith, is sin.

But consider; if this doth not break ye 3^d^ Commandment. Thou shalt not take ye name of ye Lord thy god in vain. For thou stampst an Authority upon such priests & ministers, as thou knowest, call God & Jesus *lord* by ye holy ghost: but are vain & lifeles, yea babblers, & some of them Idolaters. And 'tis ye highest breach of that Commandment to take gods name into their mouths without gods power, life, & spirit. Yet under a pretense of being his ministers, though never sent by him but made by men, not knowing ye tribulations, of ye new birth. Next, it is expressly s^d^, that Idolaters cannot inherit y^e^ Kingdom. if not, how can thou place Idolatrous priests or authorise their exercising of a Idolatrous office; yea blasphemous, viz: to make their god of a wafer; then worship him; and lastly eat him; cum multis alys: o sad!

Again, The steps of ye righteous are ordered by ye Lord. but was this part of ye institution of him, or can god order ye steps of any in a way, that is not of his ordaining & blessing? o they that would obtain or keep peace with ye great god, should way this thing, & have him before their eyes continually.

Furthermore, all true Christians are to do all they do to ye glory of god. But is ye chusing & Authorising of priests [sic] Idolatrous priests & man made ministers to exercise themselves under ye name of Christians priests & ministers, an Act, that bringeth glory to god; or rather, that mocketh & displeaseth god?

This sticketh deeply with me. Be pleased to consider, that w^{t} is not of faith, is sin; & ye mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience. Or, Thou hast faith in this, or thou hast not. If thou hast not, ye matter is at an end; unless thou wouldst live in a daily willful Transgression, as all do that act a^{gt} faith. But if thou hast faith w^{t} is it? ye gift of god pure, christian, from above, held in a pure conscience: if not; ye faith is as bad, as ye action. o Dear princess, let these things dwell with thee in gods love.

Yet again, they that are X^{ts} are led by ye S^{pt} of X^{t}; & it is no more they that live, but X^{t} that livith in them & ordereth them. But can this be sayd concerning ye execution of this part of they office? Moreover is this ye way to destroy ye Image, to burn ye whores flesh, or to come out of Babilon, or testify a^{gt} ye beast & his mark? The cry of Gods blessed Angel Revel. is thus: ffear God, give Glory to his Name: for ye hour of his Judg^{mt} is come: & no more worship ye beast. o blessed are they, that hear & obey it; & bow not to ye institutions of ye beast.

Dear Princess, The hour of gods judg^{mt} upon all these things is come, & coming. Wherefore prepare to meet thy Lord; & See that thou hast on ye wedding garment, which never waxeth old.

But further I beseech thee to consider, What a Coercion & Persecution thy Conscience lieth under, since thou art forc'd to chuse & place priests at all, as well as that thou must chuse such, as thou hast no spiritual fellowship with: yea, such as thou utterly disownest in thy own Judg^{mt}: which power of appointment is of true priests; & usurpation of Christs office, who is ye only appointer of Christian priests: And therefore this is ye Pope or Anti Christ drawn in little, that in a sense sitteth in ye place of Christ. In short, either they are Christs priests or Anti Christs priests. If Christs, let him appoint, & place, & order his own Anointed priests: for he is to go before them in all things. If antichrists priests, w^{t} hath a true Christian to do with them? let Anti Christ take care of his own Kingdom.

Yet again, do but please to remember, how it was sayd, That where ye spirit of ye Lord is there is liberty: & see if this do not barr ye dore a^{gt} all Christians Liberty? Let Christ send, or ye Spirit move another then he that hath y^{e} temporal & worldly License, & there is no room for him: mans power & ordinance hath excluded & forbidden him: Here gods word & counsel

is stopt by mans law. This is ye very life, heart & strength of the Apostacy at this day: this it is, that hindereth ye rising of gods truth in ye World, & bindeth—Yea, 'tis at ye dore of this power, that must be lay'd ye blood of all ye martyrs of Jesus in all Ages since ye Revelation of John.

To which let me add, that ye necessity of having a Chaplin is another Evil Burden, that attendeth ye place. For w^t^ is a Chaplin? No creature of gods making; look from Genesis to ye Revelations.. But a certain sort of a thing gotten in popish times betwixt Laziness & grandures, when people grew to sluggish or great to pray for themselves; then came up Chaplins for to pray for them; which is worshipping God by proxy. But is this according to ye example of holy Abraham, or Joshuah, or David, that taught their familys themselves? or suitable to the tenure of ye new & everlasting Covenant, that god would write his law in the hearts of men & women, & put his Spirit into their Inward parts, that all should know him from ye least to ye greatest.

Tell me Dear Princess, how can any mans Conscience be at anothers Dispose? That is, to speak, pray, say grace etc. at ye Appointment of any Creature living: yet thou knowest this is ye duty & practice of every chaplin. O how hath Cerimony & formality prevailed a^gt^ true & spiritual worship! Consider, if god requireth not other things from thee. Remember ye Elect Lady John writ to, that was come to ye holy unction, that teacheth all truth: take her for thy example.

But then last of all to receive money for exhibiting such Warrants, Licenses or Authoritys for a work confest to be a Limb of ye beast: to a princess of a less generous, free, & religious disposition than thyself, I should have called it ye Wages of unrighteousness: but I will leave the now, O Princess, to give it a name thyself.

Ah! w^t^ lamentable Work hath this dark night of Apostacy brought forth in ye World! W^t^ monstrous births w^t^ evil plants! how is ye christian simplicity lost through ye Inventions of ye evil one! But gods day will gradually discover & destroy them all & root them out of ye earth. For ye Lamb of god must reigne, his empire must be set up, & his Scepter exhalted, that is a righteous scepter; & his Kingdom, Authority & priesthood, that is without End.

O how doth my Soul bow before ye god of ye whole Earth, who is ffather of lights & Spirits, & that daily, that he would more & more give unto thee ye revelation of ye Knowledge of all that is not of him: & that by his divine power he would keep thee sensible of his pure & blessed word in thy Soul, that with a noble & truly princely resolution, thou mayst cast away this offspring of ye night, & become a princely pattern of true disdain of ye Worlds vain glory, & a Noble Example of Antient Christian Resignation: that it may appear, thou art not one of the beasts followers, but ye Lambs; not inhabitant of Babilon, but a retired Traveller towards Zion ye City of gods Solemnity with thy face directed that way, walking in ye light of him, that is ye life, light, truth, way, & salvation of all nations.

Ah! help ye Lamb ag^{t} ye mighty, for his day is come: his trumpet has sounded, & is daily sounding a visitation to all before ye great & notable day of final Judg^{mt}. ffear O princess, & obey; & thou shalt have eternal life. And put not off thy counsel, nor thy own soul with other excuses, then w^{t} thou canst use with boldness before ye Lord of heaven & earth at his great Judg^{mt}; & then I am sure, this letter will be justifyed. And know, thy faithfulness herein will be a great stroke to ye beasts & false prophets power; yea, a forerunning of their downfall: which I testify from ye Lord, is begun & will in a little time be accomplisht.

Yet mistake me not; I am not striking at ye civil power of thy office; that is independent upon ye Ecclesiastical constitution, by no means: for 'tis my present Judg^{mt}, that thou shouldst double thy diligence therein & employ it for god: that is to say; to be a terrour to Evil doers, & a praise to them that do well. That ye righteousness of true Magistracy may shine before ye World in thy diligent & just administration. Nay, thus far I could yet go with relation to the Charge of Abbess: They instituted it superstitiously: I would use it Christianly. That is; when ye priests come I would interrogate them if they were true Christian Priests, regenerated & anointed to preach ye Gospel? if they had rec^{d} gods living word, as ye prophets & Apostles did? & call for a proof. If ignorant hereof (as no doubt thou wilt find them) declare, that in conscience thou canst not give any consent, that such unqualifyed persons should exercise ye office of ministers & priests:

but if the people would chuse them they had their Liberty. This would preach, yea greatly.

Next suffer none to swear; for Christ forbiddeth it, Matth. 5 & Sam. 5. Be found in his holy doctrine. Let thy righteousness exceed ye righteousness of ye scribes & pharisees; & let truth, which has come, end all oaths; since the want of it introduced them. If thou sayst thou art sworn to other things, I answer that is no obligation: no oath a^gt^ true light & better knowledge bindeth. If thou hadst sworn always to have been a papist, Lutheran or Calvinist, what would that oath have availed ag^t^ gods holy manifestations? But especially an oath to maintain any part of ye beasts & false prophets mark, power, or inventions, cannot be binding on any, that desireth to follow ye Lamb. No: all such oaths & Engagements are voyd, ipso facto.

Neither let any kneel before thee for that is only done to god: it is ye worship of ye body to him; & therefore not to be given to any mortal. Nor suffer them to give thee those titles that belong to god & not to ye nature of thy office & capacity.

These things I write, that thou mayst not shun ye cross in thy employment either by continuing it in ye present extent of it, or casting it entirely off. Renounce w^t^ is not practicable in ye clearness of ye truth of god in thy heart; & use ye rest to good ends & purposes; that thou mayst become a pattern to other potentates, not so much to desert their power, as to convert it to righteous ends. And this I know, that thou wilt find more peace, & in ye end obtain a more glorious recompense, then can be expected from a private Retreat, & voluntary Sequestration.

Dear Princess, though y^e^ cup may be bitter in y^e^ mouth, yet is it sweet in y^e^ belly. Be faithful to y^e^ manifestation of y^e^ Light of Jesus in thy heart, that is not of y^e^ World, but leadeth out of y^e^ Nature & Customes of it all those, that receive it in y^e^ love of it, & bear y^e^ reproach of his holy cross without y^e^ camp of this world.

And if for thy tender & conscientious forbearance to practise or indulge any such unchristlike things thou art affronted or displeased, O rejoice; for great shall be thy reward in y^e^ Kingdom of y^e^ ffather.

And this I press y^e^ more earnestly, that it may appear to all, thou hast not deserted De Labadie & his people, to sit down short of their Attainments: but for y^e^ love of a more excellent way,

testimony, & service. Faint not, but be faithful to y^e^ light of Jesus, & y^e^ Ages unborn shall bless y^e^ Lord for thy example. Remember y^e^ Noble Antients, & call to mind y^e^ Valiants of Israel; see y^e^ Genealogy of y^e^ righteous, & read y^e^ royal family of heaven recorded in Scripture; He that overcometh shall inherit all things. And if thou conquerest, thou also shalt read thy name with theirs, recorded in y^e^ Lambs book of life. Amen.

Well, I leave this Letter to thy Serious consideration in all y^e^ parts of it; be cool & still in thy mind; & a plain way will be opend in thee, in which thou shalt meet with wisdom, strength & refreshment. And truly, till thou hast begun to discharge thy conscience in these matters, this was y^e^ word of y^e^ Lord God to me in my deep Travail for thee, that y^e^ comfort, peace, & life thou desirest, & my soul so earnestly supplicated on thy accompt, would be hid from thee.

And this I *must* do; 'tis God's certain way: I never rec'd life or comfort, or assurance any other way. Nay, to obey all present manifestations, & to watch in X^ts^ light for y^e^ present Assaults of y^e^ Enemy with [torn] . . . . fear & diligence, casting my care upon y^e^ Lord, a ready help in y^e^ needful time of trouble, was that y^e^ only [way] by which I came to receive power & ability to do y^e^ daily will of my god; & to receive his daily bread of eternal Life.

Thus have I open'd my heart, & unbosom'd my very soul to thee in that true love, & with that holy respect, w^ch^ all words are much too short to express: & god alone knoweth how it is with me on thy behalf. With that humility & tender spirit it pleas'd thee to receive & entertain us, accept this epistle; & with it my unfeigned & endeared Salutations; & please to assure thyself that in w^t^ Country or Region soever god shall order me, thou hast of me in y^e^ holy truth, that abideth forever,

A ffaithful, Constant
& Ready ffriend,
W P.

My Brethren
G. F. G K. & B. F
present thee
with their
Christian Salutations.

P. S. Give me leave too add, with Relation to thy office, that now thou art coming to use it for y^e^ Lord; now thou beginst to see y^e^ Corruptions & abuse of magistrates, & religious Charges, Reform, according to Christ's light. Strike y^e^ carnal priests of y^e^ World with a dread & terrour into their very hearts, & make them bow to y^e^ light & Spirit of Christ . . . . . & themselves. That is, open their [eyes.]

ANSWER OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO WILLIAM PENN.*

Herford, the 29th. of October, 1677.

Dear Friend,

Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's grace must be assistant; as you say yourself, "he accepts nothing that does not come from him." If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most,—I mean to do all in and by his Son—I shall be in no better condition than at this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not "taught of God myself."

Remember my love to G[eorge] F[ox,] B[enjamin] F[urly,] G[eorge] K[eith] and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening: I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers.

Your true Friend,

ELIZABETH.

P. S. I almost forgot to tell you that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osenburg to return to Amsterdam. There is also a Drossard of Limburgh near this place (to whom I gave an exemplar of R[obert] B[arclay]'s] Apology) very desirous to speak with some of the Friends.

*From Janney's Life of William Penn, p. 136.

PACIFIC COAST QUAKERISM.

THE PART OF PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON FRIENDS IN ITS PLANTING.

RAYNER W. KELSEY.

Mary Fisher and Ann Austin came to New England in 1656, and within one hundred and fifty years Quakerism had spread westward a thousand miles to the Mississippi Valley. From the Mississippi to the Pacific coast, about twice the distance, it moved in one third the time.

There is an item of peculiar interest to Philadelphia Friends and English Friends in the story of Quaker beginnings in California. That item is connected with what was probably the first meeting held by ministers of the Society of Friends on the Pacific coast.

In the years immediately following the discovery of gold (1848) in California, Friends from various parts of the United States, and even from England, sought the new land of promise in the west. Among these were several young men by the name of Hobson from North Carolina, and two brothers, John and Thomas Bevan, who had attended Ackworth School in England and later had joined their parents in South America. These brothers were conducting a drug-store in San Francisco in 1859.

It is possible and probable that among such Friends private meetings had been held previous to the occasion to be described in this writing. Yet so far as the writer has been able to discover by considerable efforts of research, the first appointed meeting held by ministers of the Society of Friends on the Pacific coast, was in San Francisco, on First-day, Seventh month 17th, 1859. This meeting was held by ministers of London Yearly Meeting in the home of a member of Orange Street Meeting, Philadelphia.

Robert and Sarah Lindsey, ministers with a minute from London Yearly Meeting, traveled in America from 1857 to 1860, and during the last two years of that time visited California and Oregon. It was during this visit that the meeting in question was held.

In Third month, 1909, the writer had the privilege of visiting Hannah Lloyd Neall in her home in San Francisco, Cal. She was said to be over 90 years old, but in spirit and mental power she was yet young. She still claimed membership in Orange Street Meeting, and said almost archly: "I like the Friends and propose to be one always." Her husband, James Neall, was deceased. They had come to California shortly after their marriage (about 1850 as she remembered it), and it was in their home that the appointed meeting for Robert and Sarah Lindsey was held.

The meetings held by these visiting Friends were spoken of in contemporaneous newspapers as the first Friends' meetings in California, and since a tradition to the same effect still exists among California Friends, and was confirmed by Hannah Neall, the writer was especially anxious to learn more about the first meeting. Through the kindness of Elizabeth L. Galleway, daughter of Robert and Sarah Lindsey, the following description of the meeting is now available, taken from the journal of Sarah Lindsey. The writer of the journal, with her husband, had arrived in San Francisco on Seventh-day, Seventh month 16th, by ship from the Isthmus of Panama. Not a long delay ensued before their first meeting, as the following entry witnesseth:

First-day, 17th, "Arrangements having been made for us to meet with a few persons connected with our society at James Neall's this morning, twenty persons assembled. The solemnizing presence of the Lord was spread over us, and I was constrained to supplicate at His holy foot-stool. My dear husband had good service, particularly for the encouragement of some who had been mercifully visited with the day-spring from on high in the morning of life, who were invited once more to renew their covenant with Him by resigning themselves to His disposal, who could revive His own work in their hearts in the midst of the years, and enable them to put away the strange gods. Thomas Bevan supplicated in a broken manner for the Lord's blessing. I believe many of our hearts were contrited, and we had cause to set up an Ebenezer to the Lord's praise. Our company seemed to be very respectable persons from various parts of the world, who were most kindly disposed towards us poor wanderers having no certain dwelling place."

In these words what flavor of the olden days of journeyings for Truth's sake, and how clear a picture of the first meeting held by ministering Friends on the Pacific coast of America! The transcontinental journey of Quakerism was accomplished. It was just two centuries to a year since the strong arm of Massachusetts Bay had tried to halt the hated sect at the gates of the continent by the hangings on Boston Common.

ANTI-SLAVERY FRIENDS.

CHARLES F. COFFIN.

Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends was opened at Newport (now Fountain City) Second month 7th, 1843. There were a large number of Friends present who participated in this separation.* On the 6th and 7th of the Third month a meeting of the Meeting for Sufferings was held which issued an address of considerable length denying explicitly the charges that Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting were opposing the abolition of slavery, and that by its measures in countenancing and supporting slaveholders and slavery, our well-known Christian testimony against slavery is not maintained, in the place of which apathy and the fear of popular sentiment have been suffered to get possession, and lukewarmness and a want of disposition to do anything for the slave has been the consequence. Another is that the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, in its own acts, and of the subordinate meetings in carrying out its advices, have been arbitrary, proscrip-

* The fullest account of this separation is to be found in "History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting . . . in the Winter of 1842 and 1843 on the Anti-Slavery Question . . . By Walter Edgerton, Cincinnati, 1856." This volume, written by one of the seceders, contains all the documents and correspondence, including letters and comments which appeared in the British Friend. See also, "History of the Friends in America, by A. C. and R. H. Thomas, fourth edition, Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 173, 174; B. Seebohm; Life of William Forster London, 1865, vol. 2, pp. 193-210; British Friend, 1843, vol. 1; Irish Friend, vol. 1, 1843; W. Hodgson, "The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century," Philadelphia, 1876, vol. 2, pp. 9-49.—EDITOR.

tive, irregular and contrary to discipline. The epistle goes on to say that this and other charges equally untrue and unfounded against the Yearly Meeting and other meetings and their committees and individuals acceptably filling responsible stations in the society have been made and widely circulated. "We think it right to take this opportunity to declare that our Society and this Yearly Meeting has not relaxed in its testimony against slavery, that on the contrary, it is the united belief of this Meeting that the testimony has been growing stronger amongst us for many years past, and that our Yearly Meeting earnestly desires to improve every right opportunity, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to advance the cause of unconditional and universal emancipation, and to manifest on all proper occasions our testimony against slavery and oppression."

Previous to this separation, the question of slavery was agitating the whole land. Strong and able men like William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and others were by newspaper publications and public addresses attacking the system in a very vigorous manner, even going to what was considered a great extreme in their denunciation of slavery and slave holders. The passage of a Fugitive Slave Act by Congress served to inflame the public mind further, and in various parts of the country "underground railroads" were formed to assist slaves in escaping to Canada. In short, the country was in a state of intense excitement, and Friends thought it expedient to issue an epistle in 1841, advising against the use of our meeting-houses for the purpose of holding anti-slavery meetings and delivering lectures. In doing this, however, they add that "It is far from our wish to induce on the part of our membership an apathy of feeling on the deeply afflicting subject of slavery. On the contrary we desire that all may faithfully maintain this Christian testimony and cherish a lively interest both for the oppressed and the oppressor, thus maintaining our peaceable and Christian principles in unbroken harmony, we shall, we believe, as the way is opened, more availingly build up the cause of the injured, and maintain the influence which as a Society we have heretofore had with the rulers of our land."

Most of the members of Indiana Yearly Meeting emigrated from the south, especially from North Carolina, and came away

largely on account of their hostility to slavery. A Manumission Society had been formed at New Garden, North Carolina, by some young men, who, finding it impossible to advance their cause in the South, afterwards emigrated to Indiana. Some of these joined in the anti-slavery movement and became leaders in the formation of the new society. Others of them maintained their calm, but decided hostility to slavery and remained in the old Yearly Meeting. Thus the Church became divided upon a subject on which they all agreed, and only objected to the method of carrying out their views.

An act, which would now seem to be unfortunate, took place in the Yearly Meeting in 1842 when four Friends were removed from membership in the Meeting for Sufferings because "they had become disqualified for usefulness in that body." One of these was Charles Osborn, who had for many years sat at the head of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, and was an able minister, greatly beloved by the people. This movement tended further to irritate those who afterwards formed the Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting.

After the Meeting for Sufferings had issued its epistle warning Friends against the anti-slavery separation in 1843, no further public action appears to have been taken by the Indiana Yearly Meeting, but Friends proceeded to disown many of those who had participated in the separation. This of course tended to keep up the excitement.

A newspaper was published at Newport, which was very severe and denunciatory in its language toward the leading Friends of the Yearly Meeting, and thus the excitement and feeling existing between the two bodies continued to grow and increase. The Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting maintained itself for a number of years, until after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, when most of its members gradually returned to the old Society. Some, however, maintained their position to the end and refused to do so. The members of the Indiana Yearly Meeting had by this time become very kindly disposed toward those who had separated, and received them readily into membership without an acknowledgement of fault on their part. Thus the history of this sad separation which in the end accomplished no good, ceased to exist.

I was twenty years old at the time of the Anti-Slavery separation, not old enough to be an active participant in the business of the Church, but old enough to realize fully what was going on, and to have very decided impressions in regard to it. I was especially struck with the bitterness with which the Anti-Slavery people attacked the members of the Old Church, through their newspapers at Newport.

My father, Elijah Coffin, was Clerk of the Yearly Meeting and bore the brunt of these attacks, although he was always a strong Anti-Slavery man. Other leading friends were also constantly attacked.

The Civil War, and the consequent ending of slavery, terminated to a great extent this bitterness and all parties finally became reconciled to each other.

ANNE GARGILL'S VISIT TO PORTUGAL, 1655.

Mary G. Swift.

In the recently published Cambridge Edition of George Fox's Journal, Vol. II, p. 320, it is stated that, "Alsoe . . . this yeere [1655] . . . Anne Gargill past over seas Into Portugall." Among Norman Penney's valuable notes to the Journal, there is one relating to this paragraph, No. 3, p. 468, which says, "No further account has been found of the visit of Anne Gargill to Portugal."

From an unexpected channel there is however a somewhat detailed account, which was written but a few years after this extraordinary journey was accomplished, and was first published in 1661. It is in Part First of "New England Judged." Here Bishop, by way of invidious comparison between the cruel officials of Boston and the courteous Portuguese of the Inquisition! gives quite a coloring of pomp and ceremony to the event. He says: "Shall I yet cut through the Streights, from the one end to the other, and pass it also to the Kingdom of Portugal, and there attempt the Popish Inquisition? There I shall find Ann Gargil passing through Lisbon (where she arrived from Plimouth in England) to the Palace of the King, there looking for

him, and meeting there an Irish Jesuit, who told her the King was not at home; I shall find her discoursing with him, and other Jesuits and People about their Religion; and returning to the Ship, where I shall find her writing a Paper, and giving it to an English-Merchant; and the Inquisition commanding it out of his Hands, and sending for her from on Board the Ship, by the King's Chief General of his Forces by Land, and High Admiral at Sea, and his Great Chamberlain and Keeper of his Privy Seal, with an English Jesuit and the King's Boat; and the Master of the Ship, whom with her they brought on Shoar, and took them into the King's Coach, and conducted them to the Inquisition-House, a fair Palace; the said Ann Gargil and the English Jesuit sitting at the one end of the Coach, and the Chief General, and Admiral and Great Chamberlain at the other: Being come to the Palace of the Inquisition, through three Guards, as aforesaid, there I shall find Twenty Five Bishops (as they were said to be) sitting, Twelve on the one side of the Table, and Twelve on the other, in a large Rome, with three corner's Caps, and one at the upper end with Six, and more richly arrayed than the rest, and three Chairs set at the other end of the Table, for the said Ann, the Master of the Ship, and the English Jesuit; Who being come into the Room, I shall find the said Twenty Five arising from their Seats, and standing with their Caps in their Hands, till upon their beckoning, the said Three were set down; and then sitting down also, and examining her of her Age, Nation and Business, and bidding her speak her Mind freely in what she had to say; for that whatsoever she said, she should not receive any Prejudice.—Which when she answered, and had spoken freely what she had to say from the Lord, and with Boldness, and they had took it in writing, I shall find them reading to her what they had written from her Mouth, and the Paper which she had before given into the Hand of an English Merchant, as aforesaid, which from him they had received, in which she had declared against them and their Idolatry, and called them Babylon and Antichrist; and having demanded whether she owned the Things there written and read unto her? And she owning them very Boldly, I shall find them causing her, and the Master of the Ship and the Jesuit to withdraw; which they doing, and being called in again,

I shall find them tendring to her a Paper to sign, to this effect (sc.)—not to come on Shoar again to that place, or to Discourse with any of that Nation; which she refusing, or to promise any such thing, they dismissed her and the Master (after they had been there the space of two Hours) and the said Great Officers of State taking them into the Coach again, conducting them to the River's side, giving a Charge to a Water-man to convey them to the Ship again, and defraying the Charge: to the Praise of their Moderation, and your Confusion." "New-England Judged," 1703 Edition, pp. 26-28.

The "Paper" referred to above was probably the same, or similar to her Tract printed in London the following year, 1656, and entitled,—"A Brief Discovery of that which is Called the Popish Religion, &c. Given forth by me whom am called of the World,—A. Gargill. Printed for Giles Calvert at the black spread Eagle near the West end of Pauls, 1656."

Whether these marked attentions which she received in Portugal, induced the self-exaltation which resulted in her "disownment by Friends," we cannot know. Certain it is that not long after her return, she "went off into ranterism."*

Millbrook, N. Y. 29. I. 1912. M. G. SWIFT.

ANNE GARGILL'S VISIT TO HOLLAND IN 1657.

William Sewel, the Quaker historian, in his History published more than sixty years later (1718-1722) thus describes his impressions when a lad of seven years old, of the visit of Anne Gargill to Holland. It is a pathetic picture of the misguided enthusiasm of an overwrought, unbalanced mind.

Sewel says, under date of 1657.—"He," [William Caton] "came to Amsterdam in due time to stop the unruliness of some froward spirits, among which one Anne Garghil, an English

* Replying to Leslie's Snake in the Grass, Dr. Daniel Phillips says, speaking of the year 1655, "As to Ann Gargil, she was a Ranter, and reputed as such . . . yet would intrude herself sometimes into our Friends company, till she was publickly disowned by them. *Vindiciæ Veritatis*, London, 1703, pp. 40-41.—EDITOR

woman, was not one of the least: whose rudeness grew in time to that degree, that she would not suffer William Ames to preach peaceably in the meeting, but laid violent hands on him: so that at length to be rid of her, he bade an English seaman that was present, to take her away, which was done accordingly: and how haughty she was, and continued, I well remember still." Sewel's History, p. 168, London, 1722 (folio edition). M. G. S.

NOTE.—Joseph Smith, in his Catalogue of Friends' Books, gives only two titles under "Anne Gargill, of London." Both appeared after her "disownment," according to Dr. Daniel Phillips' statement. These two tracts are brief, the one already referred to containing 30 pp. and the other but 5 pp., both small quarto in size, and bearing the imprint of Giles Calvert, who printed many tracts and books for the early Friends, though it does not appear he was a Friend himself (see Bulletin F. H. S. vol. 2, pp. 74-75). Interesting papers regarding the arrest and imprisonment of both Giles Calvert, and wife Elizabeth, for printing publishing and selling "seditious books, etc.," are to be found in "Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, second series, 1658 to 1664, 1911." Supplement No. 9 to Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.

A sentence or two from Anne Gargill's "Brief Discovery" etc., will indicate how she "went off into Ranterism." "You have builded Temples, and worshipped Idols: You are lyers, you worship a Den of thieves. You have stolen your prerogative from the Devill, the father of lyers, and you are subject to him who is a prince of darkness," p. 6. "Unto thee that calls thyself Bishop of Rome, thy Bishoprick is of the devill, the devill is the author, and finisher of thy authority; where is thy authority gathered? from out of the pit it came and thither shall it return," p. 36. There is language even stronger than this, but these sentences are sufficient to show the character of the tract. It should be remembered, however, that such language was not uncommon in that day, and many examples could be culled from the non-Quaker contemporary literature. The second tract has an unusually brief title, "A Warning to all the World, by Anne Gargill, London, printed for Giles Calvert, at the black spread-eagle, near the west end of Pauls, 1656," p. 5. The language in this is comparatively mild and would not excite special comment. Both these rare tracts are in the William H. Jenks Collection, Library of Haverford College.—EDITOR.

"THE QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES," BY RUFUS M. JONES AND OTHERS.

AUGUSTINE JONES.

"The Quakers in the American Colonies" is by far the most complete history of these Friends which has appeared. One wonders how such otherwise busy persons have gathered so much, and wrought the whole so rapidly into this excellent book.

The Introduction is a full epitome of the brilliant conceptions of this author. It penetrates to the core, in love and admiration, the doings of the settlers. He intensely enjoys mining underground, and drawing neglected truth to the light. Their deficiencies in education are not overlooked, and what they might have been is made manifest, with the training of scholarship diffused among them, in the land of promise. But they did a work the airs of Harvard never attained to. Yet our author is correct: they needed both. The Galilean disciples had one field, St. Paul another. Every page testifies to their refinement of spirit in the school of Christ. The missionaries of the Sandwich Islands, instead of giving to those pagans the culture of the hoe, and simple gospel, dosed them with Greek and Latin, and failed.

It is most edifying to con over the residue of truth from the fathers. If their tenets at last are ground as fine as snuff, by religious unity, and scattered wide as the dust of Wickliffe, their lives lived in the truth, testimony to the indwelling Spirit, the Divine Immanence, to eternal righteousness, will abide forever.

Boswell says, "A man will turn over half a library to make one book." These authors have certainly done that, in an age of more books. No one can really write biography but the man who lived the life, and he needs watching. No persons could have written this adequate history, unless reared within the fold. Foreigners have not the vantage ground, and always grope about and fumble, Thomas Clarkson excepted.

The evolution of meetings, the quality of people and their doings, in society, religion and politics, throughout the colonies, the style of writing and flavor of the book in all quarters, leaves nothing to be desired. The moral obedience of these colonists is

exceeded by none, "to the stern daughter of the voice of God," even to the brink of martyrdom."

These eminent pioneers and leaders are an inspiring group, in this portraiture of men and deeds. The courtier, William Penn, with his vast sacrifices, and wise constructive labors, sought light from Sydney, "whose very name is a synonym of liberty," and whose writings were a text-book, in the colonies, on the principles of government. There they were, at Worminghurst, consulting about the "Holy Experiment."

Here are delineated the notable services in the colony, of James Logan, Thomas Lloyd, John Kinsey and others in Pennsylvania, both in Church and State; John Archdale in the Carolinas; Charles Lynch, member of the legislature of Virginia, who heard Patrick Henry castigate Great Britain, who also was the founder of Lynchburg; Anthony Benezet, of Pennsylvania; John Woolman, Richard Hartshorne, and John Fenwick, of New Jersey; Lady Moody, in New York; the Coddingtons, Eastons, Wantons, Walter Clarke and Stephen Hopkins, of New England. These are a few gathered from a multitude who have found a place in this history. I have not mentioned Richard Partridge, foreign agent for Rhode Island in England many years, agent Parliamentary for the London Meeting for Sufferings. He was a very successful and distinguished diplomat, for forty years. He secured the governorship of New Jersey for Jonathan Belcher, of Massachusetts.

> "Great men have been among us; hands that penned
> And tongues that uttered wisdom better none."
>
> —Wordsworth.

Nothing is more instructive than their faith, with the most advanced mystical conceptions, disciplined by persecutions, shown throughout the colonies. It has the Apostolic quality.

It appears in the conflict for human freedom and soul liberty. It shone in Woolman and Benezet. They went from meeting to meeting, and with tongue and pen awoke minds darkened by the thirst for Mammon. The light finally extinguished slavery, and sent a crushing blow to it, in a widening circle over the world.

Their fellowship with Indians, who would never become Friends, is admirable. We are sorry that neither West's painting,

nor Voltaire's eulogistic words could hold fast the great treaty of Penn, with its brilliant emphasis.

The question of the loss to the Society from marrying-out is carefully considered. There were plausible reasons in the beginning for the rule, which faded as the bars between sects were removed. One young man before a committee for disregard of this rule, when questioned why he did it, said: "I have tried in vain every girl I knew within the flock, and I felt justified." The committee thought so too. They were soon both leading elders in the meeting.

The testimony against oaths has its fitting place here. Governor John A. Andrew said to the writer, "Do you know that under the constitution of Massachusetts, no one can be governor of this Commonwealth without an oath, except a Quaker! That means conflict, sacrifice, suffering, blood. I hope you will never take an oath." The affirmation and yea and nay of Scripture, and the same truthfulness in court and out are as distinctly in the spirit of Christianity now, as ever.* How many evil customs revealed their sin and weakness to these inspired teachers, for the regeneration of men.

This volume is a great historic work, with priceless maps and a complete index. Every facility and avenue to the truth herein, is at hand; if the reader will only cherish the clews in his chase.

How did the fathers bring to light and practice so many unseen truths essential in the lives of men? Because they believed devoutly, like the first Christians. No vain philosophy crossed their vision and unnerved their abounding faith.

"The light that never was, on sea or land," reflected in these humble, suffering teachers of righteousness, will be long read by earnest people in these luminous pages.

Newton Highlands, Mass.

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* "Swear priests, and cowards, and men cautious."

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS ISSUED IN 1911.

The year 1911 was marked by the publication of an unusually large number of works by or relating to Friends. Indeed it has been many years since so many works of this class have appeared. This fact certainly indicates an increased interest in matters relating to Friends.

The Journal of George Fox. Edited from the Mss. By Norman Penney, F. S. A., with an Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, Member of Parliament for West Leeds. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1911. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xliii, 470, 530. Two Portraits and Facsimiles. 21/. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co. $6.50.

This is the long-looked-for verbatim et literatim reprint of the Journal of George Fox. The interesting and illuminating Notes of Norman Penney add very greatly to the value of the volumes, and it may be said are absolutely needful to a clear understanding of them. No one who has not worked in the same or in similar fields, can have any adequate idea of the amount of labor involved in the collection of material for such notes, and in the sifting of evidence. The judicious editing is everywhere apparent, and the editor is to be heartily congratulated upon the result. It would be difficult to find anywhere better work of this kind. So many notices of this edition have already appeared in other periodicals that it is sufficient to say that while the old spelling and punctuation may repel some casual readers, this edition is indispensable for the student of early Quakerism. Great praise is due the Cambridge University Press for undertaking the publishing, and for the excellent mechanical execution of the volumes.

The Quakers in the American Colonies. By Professor Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. Assisted by Isaac Sharpless, D.Sc., and Amelia M. Gummere. London: Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1911, 800 pp. 12/. New York: The Macmillan Co., $3.50.

Next to the Journal of George Fox, noted above, this and the "Beginnings of Quakerism" (p. 114) are the most important works lately issued. A special notice appears elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN, so it is needful to say no more than that this volume will at once take its place as the standard work on the subject.

Human Progress and the Inward Light. The Swarthmore Lecture, 1911. By Thomas Hodgkin. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 1/,

The Trial of our Faith, and other Essays. By Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1911. 7/6.

These two works by the *Doyen* of English historians, who is also a Friend, are marked by all the excellent qualities of their distinguished

author. The twelve essays and addresses, written during the past forty years or more, now gathered into a single volume, are well worth re-publication. The variety of subject, the breadth of view, and the wide knowledge revealed are worthy of admiration. The author, now in his eighty-first year, must surely regard with satisfaction his well-earned reputation as a scholar and historian. To a smaller circle the beauty and sympathy of his Christian faith as revealed in these essays gives to this reputation an additional charm. While all are pervaded by the spirit of Quakerism the pre-eminently Quaker essays are those on George Fox, and James Parnell. The words of a recent English review are so applicable that they are here quoted: "It is a book to read rather than to read about, and a reviewer can do no more than say he has found it in a high degree stimulating and interesting."

The Personality of God, and other Essays in Constructive Christian Thought. By Edward Grubb. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 2/.

This small volume by the well-known editor of the British Friend, consists of papers originally appearing in that periodical. Doubtless many of our readers are already familiar with them. They are well worth reprinting.

"*Ueber den Ursprung des Quäkertums von Theodor Sippel.*" Printed in successive numbers of Die Christliche Welt, Marburg i.K., 1910. 33 pp.

This monograph concerning the origin or sources of Quakerism is an interesting study by a complete outsider. Quakerism has seemed to appeal to the German mind lately, for several monographs on the subject have appeared during the last year or two, and the Life of Elizabeth Fry, by Georgina K. Lewis, noticed in the last number of the BULLETIN, has been recently published in a German translation.

A Man in Shining Armor: the story of the Life of William Wilson, M. R. C. S. and L. R. C. P., Missionary in Madagascar, Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. By A. J. and G. Crosfield. London, Headley Brothers, 1911. 12mo., 276 pp. 3/6 net.

This is rather a characterization of the man and his work than a full biography. No one can read this volume and not be filled with admiration for the earnest, devoted life. He was indeed, in his chosen field,

> "A happy warrior," one,
> "Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
> Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim."

Leaves from the Journal of Joseph James Neave, with Notes. Edited by Joseph J. Green. With portraits and other illustrations. London, Headley Brothers, 1911. 16mo. 228 pp. 2/6.

It is more common than it used to be to publish a journal in the

lifetime of the author, and the reader may be glad that our friend has followed this course, but even under the care of so competent an editor, some matters of strictly personal character might have been better left out. It is a simple, attractive, brief narrative of some of the author's experiences when on religious service in the United States, Russia, Australia, and New Zealand. Some of the readers of the BULLETIN will doubtless remember our Friend in the last weeks of 1864, and early days of 1865, and the story of his remarkable experiences in Virginia and North Carolina during the last weeks of the Civil War. To such, his own narrative of these trying days will be specially attractive. In Russia he had the company of John Bellows, of Gloucester, England, whose graphic narrative of the journey forms a large part of the delightful "Memoir of John Bellows."

Simple Sketches of Christian Work and Travel. By M. A. Marriage Allen. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 12mo., pp. 178. 2/6.

Our friend Mary Ann Marriage Allen is well known to many American Friends, who will be pleased to see these literally "simple sketches." The warm heart, the self-sacrifice, and readiness to help others, particularly the oppressed and needy ones, are very clearly revealed in these pages. The amount of ground covered, the number of places visited, the conditions examined into and aided, are remarkable. France, Ireland, North America, (several times), Japan (twice), India, Syria, Cyprus, Egypt, Macedonia, and other places, were visited. We could wish in more than one instance fuller details had been given. A little more care in revision would have prevented several slips and some slight errors of statement.

John Dillingham, 1839-1910. Teacher, Minister in the Society of Friends, Editor. By J. Henry Bartlett. Printed privately. Knickerbocker Press. New York, 1911. 12mo., pp. 190. Two portraits, and illustrations. [For sale at Friends Bookstore, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. $1.00, $1.15 postpaid.]

In modern terms this is an "appreciation" rather than a biography. Long periods are untouched, and some important incidents are mentioned only when needful for explanation. This has been done skillfully, and the biographer is to be commended for his restraint. Within the limitations set himself, the author has been successful in presenting a clear picture of an unusual personality and fine character, well known to many of the readers of the BULLETIN.

Memoirs of Samuel Hoare, by his daughter Sarah, and his Widow Hannah. Also, some letters from London during the Gordon Riots. Edited by F[rancis] R. Pryor. Printed by Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, 1911. 4to, pp. xviii, 67, and 28 plates. 21/.

Samuel Hoare [1751-1825] was connected with the Barclays, Gurneys, Buxtons, Pryors and other Quaker families, and though the Memoirs,

written many years ago, are brief, they are interesting. The great value of this handsome volume, however, lies in the beautiful reproductions of portraits and silhouettes. These, independently of the personal interest, are valuable as showing the costumes of the period covered.

Swanwick—1911. *Being the Report of the Conference of Young Friends, held at Swanwick, from August 28th to September 4th*, 1911. Published by the Young Friends sub-Committee of the Friends Home Mission and Extension Committee. To be obtained of Headley Brothers, 140 Bishopsgate, London, E. C. Post free 1/3. 8vo., pp. 204, 9 illustrations.

If any one wishes to know what is the spirit of the "Young Friends Movement" among English Friends of the present day, this little volume will give the information as well as any printed account can give it. That four hundred Young Friends (one hundred and fifty men, two hundred and fifty women), or rather Young Friends and those feeling young, should come together for a week to discuss and confer concerning the present-day problems and opportunities of Quakerism, and especially concerning the part young Friends should take, is certainly an historical fact worthy of record. Swanwick is in beautiful Derbyshire, about eight miles east of Matlack.

Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784]. From the German of Johann David Schoepf. Translated and Edited by Alfred J. Morrison. Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1911. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. x, 426, 344. $6.00.

It seems strange that these Travels should have waited more than a century for a translator. The work was well worth doing, as it is the record of a clear-headed, clear-sighted young German of scientific tastes, who visited North America for the special purpose of investigation. His account of the Quakers in Philadelphia is graphic and amusing.

The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, etc. By Charles A. Hanna, author of "The Scotch-Irish." In two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. Pp. xxiv, 383, vi, 457. $10 net.

These handsome volumes, richly illustrated, are noticed chiefly to call attention to the very strong anti-Quaker bias which everywhere appears. So bitter, indeed, is the author's feeling against the Friends and their conduct of the government of Pennsylvania, that it inevitably makes a thoughtful reader wonder how far his judgment, and even statements, can be trusted on other matters. Of Scotch-Irish descent, unless we are mistaken, he glorifies—this is hardly too strong a word—his ancestry, and has no patience with the peace-loving Quakers, who in his eyes are tricky, self-righteous, selfish. The following paragraph illustrates his spirit: "At least, if not a reproach, it is a matter of great wonder that these Scotch-Irish of the Pennsylvania frontier did

not organize themselves into a lynching party . . . march to Philadelphia, and overthrow and forever destroy the Quaker government, a government which as early as 1751 had forfeited its right to existence by early inviting the sacrifice of the lives and fortunes of hundreds of its subjects, in order that the safely-protected, and over-righteous members of its little clique might escape taxation for military purposes, and better the supposed chances for the salvation of their own tiny, pinched, and self-magnified souls." Vol. I, p. 25.

The Songs and Singers of Christendom. By Frederick John Gillman, London: Headley Brothers, [1911]. Pp. 144. 2/.

This sketch of Hymnody and the great hymn writers, by one of the compilers of the "Fellowship Hymn Book," so extensively used in the Friends' Adult Schools, England, is a pleasantly-written, attractive little book, worthy of great commendation.

Friends' Year-Book, 1912. London: Headley Brothers. 1/.

This is the fourth year of issue of this valuable handbook; it is useful not only for members of London Yearly Meeting, for whom it is primarily issued, but for all who are interested in the present conditions of the Society of Friends, for it contains much information concerning matters outside of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Beginnings of Quakerism. By William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., President of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, near Birmingham. With Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College, U. S. A. Macmillan & Co., Limited, St. Martins Street, London, 1912. 8vo, pp. xliv, 562. 12/. New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.50.

This volume has come to hand too late for the extended review which it richly deserves, and so can only be given a comparatively brief notice. It forms the third volume in the series projected by the late John Wilhelm Rowntree; the two preceding works, "Studies in Mystical Religion," published in 1900 (see BULLETIN, vol. 3, p. 146), and and "Boehme and other Mystical Influences" (in preparation), both by Rufus M. Jones, being intended to form an introduction to the volumes devoted especially to Quakerism and its history. The fourth volume, "Quakers in the American Colonies," is noted above.

Though special periods and phases of the history of Quakerism have been treated of, as in the admirable little volume "The Rise of Quakerism," by T. Edmund Harvey, and in the "History of the Friends in America," by A. C. and R. H. Thomas, both written from the sources, and "George Fox" by Thomas Hodgkin, the essays by John Stephenson Rowntree, the striking papers by John Wilhelm Rowntree, and monographs by other writers, to all of whom the Society is greatly indebted, this work is the first to treat the subject *fully* from the modern

point of view, and to give a narrative based upon an extensive study of original sources of all kinds, both manuscript and printed. The volume will be indispensable to the students of Quaker History. The author's diligence and skill are unsurpassed, and everyone who wishes to gain the largest amount of information regarding the early history of the Friends without himself going to sources must consult this volume. The very fulness of detail, however, sometimes detracts from the sustained interest of the narrative. The field has been skilfully laid out, and the lines laid down followed with care. Some of the headings of his twenty chapters will indicate his plan, such as, "The Puritan Revolution," "The Founder of Quakerism," "Pioneer Work," "The Wider Outlook," "Nayler's Fall," "Controversy," "Church Organization," and "Relations with the State."

The author has taken the greatest pains to give a truthful account of the beginnings of Quakerism, and has not kept back details which, however painful they may be to modern Friends, are really needful to be told if one wishes to know the truth, and desires to understand the conditions existing at the time. That there was fanaticism among the early Friends is a fact, and must be acknowledged; that George Fox himself, in the earlier days, said and did some things which we wish he had not said and done, is also a fact, and is rightly not to be passed over. With all his deep spiritual insight and his breadth of vision he was very human, and needed time and experience to gain that clearness of judgment for which he was afterwards so distinguished. That a few of the early companions and followers of George Fox "lost their spiritual balance and became disaffected or apostate" is not to be wondered at; that Fox and many of his companions so soon perceived the danger of fanaticism, and cleared the Society of it, is immensely to their credit. Perhaps nowhere in the volume is the author's skill and judgment shown to better advantage than in his account of the most sorrowful episode of Quaker History—"James Nayler's Fall." His chapter on "Church Organization" and that on "Relations with the State," are especially valuable. The chapter on "Controversy" will give much information to those who have not personally investigated the controversial literature of the seventeenth century; and the chapters on "Itinerating Work," "The Growth of Quakerism," and "Work Beyond Seas," throw a flood of light upon the missionary activities and methods of the early Friends.

The author has fortified his statements by numerous detailed references to his authorities.

An analytical table of Contents, and a full and accurate Index (so far as it has been tested) add much to the usefulness of the book. The valuable Introduction of twenty pages by Rufus M. Jones, the general Editor of the series, written in his usual clear and attractive style, should not be overlooked.

This volume closes with 1660, and we look forward with great interest to the next volume from the same hand, which will treat of the more strictly formative and settling period.

The Vision of Faith and Other Essays. By Caroline Emilia Stephen. *With Memoirs,* by her niece, Katharine Stephen (Principal of Newnham College), and Dr. T. Hodgkin. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 12mo, pp. cxxx, 68. 3/6.

All who are familiar with "Quaker Strongholds" and "Light Arising," by the late Caroline E. Stephen, will welcome this little book. The brief memoirs, together with the "Letters," give a singularly clear presentation of the author's character, while the three brief "Essays" on "The Vision of Faith," "Divine Guidance," and "Pain," written in the admirable style of the author, are a valuable addition to that spiritual presentation of truths which touch the innermost feelings. The portraits and views add much to the interest of the volume.

Extracts from State—Papers relating to Friends. Second Series 1658-1664. London: Headley Brothers. Philadelphia: Herman Newman, 1010 Arch Street. New York: David S. Taber, 144 East 20th Street. 1911. 8vo. pp. viii, 107. 4/6. $1.25.

This is Supplement No. 9 to the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society. Like Part I, it has very much of interest in it relating to the early history of Friends. These *Extracts* show how exceedingly suspicious the authorities were, and how often Friends suffered for trivial offences, if indeed many of them can be called offences at all. The extracts have been selected by the competent hand of Charlotte Fell Smith.

Annual Monitor for 1912. London: Headley Brothers. 16mo. pp. 213. 16 portraits. 1/6.

This is the ninety-ninth issue of this, so far as we know, unique publication. Among the thirty-two memoirs there are several of unusual interest.

History of English Nonconformity. By Henry W. Clark, vol. 1. From Wichif to the Restoration. London: Chopman & Hall, Ltd., 1911. 8oc. pp. xvii, 439. 15/.

In this volume occurs a discriminating and sympathetic, though brief, account of the early days of Quakerism.

The Quakers. A Study Historical and Critical. By Frederick Stows Turner 2d Edition. London: George Allen, 1911. 12mo. pp. 448, 8 illustrations. 6/.

This is a reprint with additions of the first edition (1889). It is much to be regretted that the author has not only failed to correct errors in the early edition, but has also committed other serious errors in this. He has apparently ignored results of modern research, and his latest statistics are those of 1900.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

FRIENDS' MEETING FOR INDIANS IN THE STATE HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA, 12TH MO., 1759.—"A conference was held with the Indians whilst I tarried here [in Philadelphia] which I was at; and Daniel Stanton and myself, with a few other friends, had a meeting with them at Philadelphia *in the State House*. After some time of waiting in silence, I had something to say, and one Isaac Still, an Indian, who could speak English, delivered the substance of what I said in the Indian language. He appeared tender and well satisfied, being a sensible sober young man.

"Tedeuscung and several of the Delaware chiefs were present, and a few of the Jersey Indians. They were solid, attentive, and behaved in a becoming manner. The meeting ended in humble prayer and supplication to Almighty God."

Life of William Reckitt, of Lincolnshire, England. London, 1776, pp. 179, 180.

M. G. S.

ACCOUNT OF MARMADUKE STEVENSON, given by the mother of John Richardson, 1697.—"When I mentioned Marmaduke Stevenson, that good man and great sufferer in the cause of Christ, as before, my mother said it was true; for she lived a servant with Edward Wilbermoss, an honest Quaker in Skipton, where Marmaduke Stevenson was a day labourer, about the time he had his call to go to New England. . . . If I remember right she said, he was such a man as she never before knew, for his very countenance was a terror to them, and he had a great check upon all the family; if at any time any of the servants had been wild, or any way out of the truth, if they did but see him, or hear him coming, they were struck with fear, and were all quiet and still; and if one of the children came into the house where he laboured, and he would not have it to come, these were his words, 'Go thy way,' or 'Go home, lest I whip thee'; and they were subject and quiet." Life of John Richardson, p. 67; p. 25. Philadelphia edition, 1783.

M. G. S.

NEW YORK TO PHILADELPHIA IN 1841.—"4th Month 20th [1841]. Rose early, and at six o'clock, with our host and hostess, and other Friends who had left home on the same errand as ourselves, we took the steamer to Amboy in New Jersey. . . . At half-past seven, the company were summoned to breakfast, and about sixty of us sat down at two long tables to a handsome repast. Our fare consisted of cutlets, beef steaks, stewed oysters, shad, eggs, omelets, tea and coffee, with a great variety of hot and

cold bread and cakes; the charge to each person was half a dollar. . . . . On reaching Amboy, we found the railway train in readiness to convey us through the State of New Jersey, to Camden, a village or small town on the Delaware, directly opposite Philadelphia; the distance between the two places being 64 miles. . . . . At one o'clock p.m. we crossed the Delaware at Camden, and landed at Philadelphia, having performed our journey of 94 miles in seven hours, at a charge, including breakfast, of three dollars, for each passenger."

John Candler, "Letters on America." British Friend, vol. I, pp. 33, 34. 1843.

Philadelphia to Baltimore in 1841.—"Leaving Wilmington, we proceeded onward to Baltimore. through a country abounding with pine and fir trees . . . and we met with nothing worthy of notice till we came to the mouth of the river Susquehannah, at its junction with the bay of Chesapeake. Here we crossed the water in a steamboat, and viewed the scenery on both banks of the river with delight. This is indeed an interesting spot. At Havre de Grace, on the Maryland side, a new train of carriages stood ready to receive us, and conveyed us quickly to our journey's end. The train drew up at a station three miles short of Baltimore, and the engine being detached, several teams of handsome horses, four-in-hand, and in sumptuous harness, were put to the separate carriages; in half an hour we arrived at one of the great hotels. The distance from Philadelphia to Baltimore is 100 miles; the journey is performed in six hours; at a cost, to each passenger, of four dollars.

John Candler, as above, p. 75.

Railway Notice, 1841 [In Virginia].—"In one of the railway carriages on the road a printed warning was suspended . . . . 'Gentlemen are requested not to lean out of the windows while the train is in motion, nor to sit with their legs out of the windows.'"

Ibid., p. 117.

An Adjourned London Yearly Meeting.—For the first time in its history of over two hundred and fifty years London Yearly Meeting held an adjourned session Eleventh month 6-9, 1911. The special object was the consideration of changes proposed in the Book of Discipline.

Visit to America by Norman Penney.—The well-known and accomplished Editor of the Journal of Friends' Historical Society (London), Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, editor of the "First Publishers of Truth," and of the just published Cambridge Edition of the "Journal of George Fox," etc., visited the United States, Tenth month 5 to Eleventh month 25, 1911. It was a great pleasure to many to see our Friend face to face. He lectured before the members of the

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia and their friends in Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, Tenth month 9, 1911, and also gave a number of lectures on subjects connected with the history of Friends to audiences in and around Philadelphia. He also spoke in New York City, Trenton, Moorestown, and Haddonfield, New Jersey, and Wilmington, Delaware. Besides these, he spoke twice in Baltimore, Maryland; also in Richmond, Indiana, and several other places. His lectures were well attended and listened to with much interest.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON.—Since the last issue of the "BULLETIN" the four numbers of volume viii of the Journal have appeared. As usual, the Journal is full of matter interesting to Friends, and of valuable contributions to Quaker history. Volume ix, No. 1, just at hand, contains a verbatim reprint of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, Cambridge, containing an account of the American journey of George Fox, 1671-1673. It is annotated by Professor William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, and Norman Penney. The reprint makes 35 pp. It differs in a number of instances from the account in the Journal.

An interesting note (p. 68) relative to "the oldest Yearly Meeting in the world," seems to be conclusive that to London Yearly Meeting belongs that credit.

THE "SHORT JOURNAL" OF GEORGE FOX.—Readers of the Cambridge edition of Fox's Journal, just issued and noted elsewhere, and also of W. C. Braithwaite's "Beginnings of Quakerism," will notice not a few references to the "Short Journal." This is a manuscript which has never been published, and is now in Friends' Reference Library, London. Norman Penney thus speaks of it: "The original Ms. consists of 130 oblong pages, and is endorsed in Fox's hand-writing—'A short journall of Gff never wer printed,' with the addition in another hand, 'Of some Short things from abt ye year 1648 to King Charles ye 2 Dayes.'"

Through the liberality of a friend, the Library of Haverford College has become possessed of a beautifully-written copy of this Journal, in which the original spelling, punctuation, etc., are carefully preserved. So far as known, this is the only copy of the original that has ever been made. It consists of 76 folio pages, and is appropriately bound in half morocco.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held at Friends' Institute, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on the evening of Second month 26th, 1912.

The social feature of the occasion was the serving of the Annual Supper in the Tea Room of the Twelfth Street Meeting House.

The tea tables were attractively arranged to accommodate at one time all the members present and their guests, who numbered nearly two hundred.

The young ladies who assisted in serving the supper were attired in the Friends' costume of the days of their grandmothers, which recalled many pleasant memories.

The company remained seated after the supper when the Annual Meeting was held.

The usual routine business was soon accomplished, when the addresses of the evening were presented.

Amelia M. Gummere read a paper entitled "Our Ambitions." She spoke of the completion of the eighth year of the existence of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, and called attention to the fact that during this year would occur the hundredth anniversary of the building of the meeting house in which the company was assembled.

She made an earnest plea for a settled habitation or headquarters for the Society, which is greatly needed, and where it might be possible to display the manuscripts, pictures, books, relics, etc., belonging to the Society.

Our collection of such things would doubtless be increased thereby, as suggestions have been made by interested friends at various times of their desire to present to us articles in their possession should we secure a suitable place for their display.

She mentioned the fact that the birthplace and locality where one had lived, so distinctively representing the principles of the Society of Friends in the example of his life as John Woolman, was little known to many Friends of the present day. The suggestion was made that it might be fitting for Friends'

Historical Society of Philadelphia, to erect a suitable memorial to mark the site, near Rancocas, N. J.

Rachel Smith Howland read portions of the journal of her grandmother's grandmother, Margaret Morris, of Burlington, N. J., covering a period of six months in 1776-1777.

The journal gave an interesting picture of the anxieties and cares of the inhabitants during the trying times when the British soldiers were in the neighborhood of Burlington. The expression of the journalist of her experience of the care and preservation of an over-ruling providence was beautiful and touching.

Watson W. Dewees presented some account of the "Walking Purchase" at the time of Thomas Penn in 1737 stating the facts in regard to it which are historical and pointing out statements which are most likely legendary.

The starting point of the Walking Purchase is located near the Meeting House at Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pa., which has been marked by the Bucks County Historical Society in memory of the Lenni Lenape Indians, ancient owners of this region.

A brief address was made by Isaac Sharpless in which he spoke of the value to the present generation of the serious study of the history of the Society of Friends.

He urged that Friends' Historical Society should do more than collect old manuscripts and relics, and read entertaining diaries. The study and research for the strong elements and forces active in the development of the Society of Friends, the meaning and message that Friends have for the world, the spirit and knowledge of Quakerism, the causes of our successes and failures, are most important factors in connecting the present with the future for our advancement and improvement. He spoke of a lack of the knowledge of the philosophy of the history of Friends prevalent in some sections being the probable cause of their failure to uphold the standards of the Society of Friends.

After some brief discussion, the meeting closed.

M. S. A.